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ADDRESS

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NEW JERSEY



Democratic State Central Committee

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TO THE VOTERS OF THE STATE.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—

In view of the coming election, which will be one of more than ordinary importance, the Democratic State Central Committee desire to address you.

The State Convention which met in September, and nominated a candidate for Governor, adopted a series of resolutions expressing the sentiments of the party and the principles on which they were called to place themselves in the ensuing contest. These principles we heartily adopt. They breathe the spirit of ardent devotion to the Union and the Constitution. They assure to the National Administration cordial support in suppressing, by all Constitutional means, the rebellion which political madness has brought upon us. They condemn all unlawful assumptions of power, all infringements of the rights of the people under the Constitution, and they entirely reject the idea that the civil war which now afflicts us shall be waged for the purposes of emancipation. This is the substance of the resolutions, and in what we shall say to you on this occasion, we shall do little more than attempt to bring them more prominently before you, and urge upon you their importance.

The resolutions, as you will see, indicate the character of the coming contest and the great issues which fill the public mind. The rebellion, the civil war, the mode in which it is conducted, its objects and consequences, the integrity of the Constitution and the safety of our own personal rights. These are the great themes which call for our most earnest consideration.

Grave difficulties have existed for many years, as we all know, between the Northern and Southern sections of our Union, growing out of difference of habits, interests and institutions. They have given rise to doubts as to the permanency of our system of government. They have sometimes risen so high as to threaten our safety. Fortunately, on these occasions we have had wise men in our councils, endued with a spirit of compromise and peace, and by the blessing of Providence the danger has been averted. But it was only for a time. Designing men on both sides renewed the quarrel, and passion became more and more excited. The result was a secession from the Union by several of the Southern States, and a civil war. This war, we firmly believe, might have been avoided, even after some of the States had seceded, had the same spirit prevailed which proved so effectual in 1850, through the wisdom of Clay and Cass and Webster and Douglas. An honorable and probably a permanent adjustment might have been effected. That we, as a party, that the Democracy throughout the country, and especially in the free States, together with many conservative men who were in the Republican ranks, urged such an adjustment, and labored earnestly to bring it about, is known to all. That it was not accomplished is not our fault. We are clear of the responsibility of the war. Radical politicians everywhere opposed the adjustment. The Union men in the border States were earnest in their entreaties. They foresaw and foretold with almost prophetic distinctness what would be the results of a failure. The Crittenden resolutions, the propositions of the Peace Convention, either, if agreed to by Congress, might have saved the country. But secessionists in the South opposed them. The radicals of the North and East opposed them. The great Republican party everywhere, with some honorable exceptions, were unwilling to abandon their platform. They insisted it should be carried out to the letter, no matter what might be the consequences. Some assured the people that there was no danger,—that everything would be quieted in thirty days, or a few weeks; others did not hesitate to say that blood-letting would be of service to the nation. And you all remember how the Republican party in our own State resisted the efforts that were made for the healing of

sectional difficulties and the preservation of peace; how we were ridiculed as *peace men* and *Union savers*, and taunted for our honest fears. We recall these matters not to excite feeling, but to show that the Democratic party, and those who acted with them, are not responsible for the consequences that ensued. There is a book open, in which posterity will write up a fearful judgment, against those who shut the door of reconciliation and hope on that occasion. Open rebellion and war followed as an almost necessary result, and the country is now in the midst of a conflict which may well fill us with dismay, and which the civilized world is looking upon with astonishment.

In this state of things our position and duty are plain.

We disclaim the doctrine of secession, upon which the Southern States have placed themselves. It is a political heresy which finds no place in the Constitution, and is subversive of the principles of our government. Secession is but another term for revolution, and when sought to be maintained by force, is rebellion. In regard to this there is but one opinion among us. The rebellion must be put down—the rightful power of the government must be restored. The Democratic party is conservative; “it stands now, and has ever stood since the formation of the government, for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws,” and it will maintain that position to the end. And we have, in common with all conservatives, acted upon this principle. We yield to none in attachment and devotion to the Union; nor do we rest in mere professions. We have responded with cheerfulness to every call that has been made for men or means; we have submitted in common with others, to taxes and privations without a murmur. Our sons, our brothers and friends are now in the field ready to fight and die in defence of their country; and many of us mourn the loss of those who have already fallen in the contest. In common with the Democracy of other States we have testified our earnest desire for a speedy and successful termination of the conflict. We have thrown no obstacles in the way of enlistments, nor have we interfered with our Generals in the field, or undertaken to dictate to the President the terms on which we would give him our support. Although not honored with the confidence of

the administration, and treated almost as aliens and strangers, we have felt that we were citizens of the Republic and inheritors of a glorious freedom, and we have manfully maintained the right.

But there are mighty questions in connection with this war; which are now agitating the public mind very deeply, and creating anxiety everywhere. For what purpose is it now waged, and how and upon what principles should it be conducted, and when should it cease? These are matters which vitally affect the interests of the country, and the safety of our private and political rights, and upon these it becomes us to speak and to act. We claim the right as free citizens to commune with one another. We are upon the eve of an important election, and at such a time, if ever, we should examine into the conduct of our public servants and inquire how the government has been administered.

The sole purpose of the war, as asserted by Congress and approved by the administration, is to suppress rebellion, establish the authority of the Constitution, and restore the Union. This being accomplished, the war is to cease. The fact that such a declaration was made by Congress showed plainly that doubts had been entertained upon this subject, and you well remember that such doubts were expressed, and it was charged that other purposes were to be accomplished by this war. But Congress gave its solemn pledge, and it was understood by the country that it was not to be carried on with a view to subjugation or conquest, or to destroy State institutions or blot them out of existence. It was to be a war not against States, but against the rebellious people of the States, to bring them back to their rightful allegiance. It could have no other legitimate object.

But the events of the last eighteen months have exposed many secrets. It is now perfectly well known that strong efforts have been made to turn the war from its avowed and just purpose and make it an abolition war—a war for general emancipation. Of this there can be no doubt; and it is no wonder that conservative men are alarmed, and that the country is

alarmed. A war with such an object would cut off every hope of restoring the Union.

We regret, but are not surprised, that such efforts have been made, even in view of such consequences. Unfortunately we have in our midst a party who are bent upon this purpose. They do not wish to see the war ended or the Union restored on the principles of the Constitution. They insist that it shall be so prosecuted as that emancipation shall be a necessary consequence—slavery must be abolished. This, as we all know, is not a new idea. We have long had fanatics in the North who have denounced slavery in the States as a national sin, and the Constitution of the United States, which recognizes it, as a covenant with darkness and infamy. At first these were looked upon as agitators and disturbers of the national peace. They were marked as such; friends of the Union and of order everywhere avoided them. Yet they persevered; they organized; they set themselves up as a party; they took hold of the ultra and radical spirit which always exists in a greater or less degree in a free government, and turned it to their benefit. They found sympathizers among Whigs, but the Whig party, as a great national party, refused to affiliate with them or adopt their principles. They nevertheless distracted it and impaired its unity and strength until, in 1856, they succeeded in destroying it and forming out of the two a new party under a new name—a party entirely and intentionally sectional. Every Southern State and Southern man was necessarily excluded from the platform that was adopted. A large portion of the Whig party of that day, and among these were very many of the purest and best men of the country, refused to participate in this unholy connection. They predicted the consequences that must necessarily ensue, and which have fallen upon us earlier than they anticipated. But the connection was consummated—the Republican party was the issue. The Whig party was extinguished and the abolitionists were satisfied. They had a new stand point; and under the cover of a respectable name, they could work with effect. What they wanted was to get the heaven fairly in the lump—and in this they succeeded.

No one has failed to see with what sleepless energy they have pursued their advantage since that unpropitious event; until they have acquired influence in their own party and thus direct its course of action. They claim now to be a power in the State, and seek to mould the legitimate purposes of the administration to suit their views. Since the breaking out of this rebellion they have become more bold and confident in their purposes, and their efforts to accomplish them have been unceasing. Step by step they have made their advance; now flattering the administration for what they had done, and then abusing it for not doing more. The plan of prospective abolition with compensation did not satisfy them—it was too slow. They were afraid the war would end before their object was attained. Every symptom of yielding on the part of the administration only brought on renewed and severer pressure. Threats and menaces even to the withholding of troops, were resorted to, until at length the President, as we hope against his better judgment, issued his proclamation decreeing freedom to slaves after the 1st of January, 1863, unless the rebel States should before that time return to their allegiance.

The joy with which this proclamation was received by the radicals and by the Republican party, with some exceptions, was almost unbounded. They serenaded the President and gave utterance to their feelings in the most extravagant demonstrations. They hailed it as the dawn of a new era. And one of the orators of the night (a man of no mean pretensions,) openly thanked God that the issue between liberty and slavery had come at last! In view of all this is there not reason to fear that under the pressure of such influence the war is to be carried on for other purposes than the restoration of the Union.

But you are told that emancipation is not an object of the war, that it is only a means adopted to crush the rebellion and restore peace to the country. Now in regard to this we would remark, that as such a means it is simply unconstitutional. No power to free slaves in the South has been given to the Executive. There seems to be no dispute upon this point. The most ardent supporter of the measure does not pretend to justify it on that ground. Nor can it be justified as a war

power, if indeed any such power can exist outside the Constitution in a government like ours. There is no power of that kind which can justify the President, as the military head of the nation, to blot out of existence the institutions of whole States, and destroy the private property of the innocent people of those States along with the guilty, and that too by mere proclamation, upon the plea that such property and institutions help to sustain the rebellion.

There is no necessity for the exercise of any such war power, or for any violation of the Constitution. We believe this rebellion can be subdued by constitutional means, faithfully and honestly applied. Let speculators and plunderers, and all who fatten upon the spoils of war and have an interest in its continuance, be dismissed and punished; let all who seek to pervert the war from its true and avowed purpose, all who stir up divisions among our military commanders, holding them up to censure and ridicule or disgrace, that they may be superseded by others, for political purposes, and who seek to make this a party war; let all such be put away and dealt with as they deserve. It is by these that the nation's arm has been paralyzed and its energies distracted. Let not the governors of States attempt to impose terms and conditions as the price of their support. Let there be one heart, one mind, one purpose; and there will be found power enough in the Constitution to ensure success. Surely it cannot be said, and it ought not to be said, that the North and West, with more than twenty millions of freemen, with an established government, an extended and profitable commerce, and a soil unsurpassed for productiveness, cannot overcome less than half their number in the South, of whom four millions are slaves. Such a confession of inferiority ought not to be made to our enemies and the world.

And there are strong reasons which present themselves to every reflecting mind against the policy of this measure. It is offensive to the border slave States, who, amid divisions and discouragements, are striving manfully to sustain the Union. If the proclamation is of any avail, and the rebellion subdued, of what value is their property. They ask that while standing by the Union they shall not be stricken down themselves.

We believe that if this proclamation is to go into effect, it will create divisions and dissensions everywhere, prolong and embitter the war, and render a reunion impossible on the basis of the Constitution. If at any time the people of the South should wish to return to their allegiance to the United States; and the States should claim to take their place in the Union, with their privileges and institutions, what is to be done? Can the decree which has gone forth be annulled? Can the government repudiate it, to the prejudice of those in whose behalf it was made?

And what is to become of these three or four millions of colored persons suddenly emancipated and let loose upon the country? If they remain in the South they can only secure their actual freedom by force,—by a servile insurrection, which, if once commenced, would sweep over the land with all its untold horrors, sparing neither age, sex or condition. If they should escape to the North it would be ruinous to free labor, and we should be loaded with intolerable burdens.

We cannot believe that such a measure can be either necessary or expedient.

But whether emancipation is to be considered as an object of the war or as a means of carrying it on, it is a clear subjection of the civil to the military power. It is a declaration that the Constitution is insufficient for the purposes for which it was made, and that it must yield to the claims of a supposed necessity. The South has set it at defiance and abjured it. Our purpose is to vindicate it, to restore its authority, and to bring rebellious people to submit to its rule. In doing so shall we ourselves become its violators? If the South repudiates the right of the Constitution to restrain them, and we of the North admit that it is powerless to enforce obedience, where do we stand? What becomes of the Constitution? If means outside of it may be resorted to for particular ends, who is to judge when and how and for what purposes this may be done? These are subjects of grave import, and we ask for them the consideration of reflecting men. There are those among us who deride the idea of danger. They are willing to trust all power to the administration or almost any one to carry on the war and crush the rebellion; and they brand as disloyal those who will not adopt

their views. Such men are fanatics; they are the radicals of the day, and we cannot be safe under their rule. They forget that without law there is no liberty, and that in this country there is no protection to life, liberty or property save under the Constitution.

There are other matters connected with the mode of prosecuting this war which demand an honest expression of sentiment on this occasion.

In the Constitution to which we have so often referred, our fathers of the revolution prescribed the form of government and the powers it might exercise. They intended it should contain ample safeguards for the protection of all personal and political rights. It provided among other things, that Congress shall make no law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press;" that

"The rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

"That no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

And also, that in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right of a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, and to be confronted with the witnesses against him.

These provisions will be found among the amendments to the original instrument; without them it could not have been ratified. This shows the watchful jealousy of oppression and lawless power which pervaded the public mind at that day. This was seventy years ago. We have passed through wars and insurrections; violence and strife have at times shaken our institutions and caused us to fear for their safety. But amid all these the personal rights of the people have been held sacred. Freedom of speech and the press has been protected and enjoyed. But how is it now? Within the last eighteen months we have seen citizens of loyal States seized by the strong arm of power, without warrant or authority, torn from family and friends, car-

ried out of the States to which they owed allegiance and where they might hope for protection, and lodged in military fortresses, whether for safe keeping or for punishment, or both, we know not. There they have been held, ignorant who were their accusers or what accusations were made against them, without trial or even opportunity of being heard; held at the pleasure of those who placed them there, and set force at their discretion. We have seen citizens even of our own loyal State, carried forcibly out of her jurisdiction, almost in the face of her public authorities, and in defiance of her laws. And why was this? The people of New Jersey have a right to ask why was this. If these persons were guilty of treason, or of any other known crime against the laws or Constitution of the United States, she would have given them no protection. The courts were open; the course of justice was unobstructed; there was no reason to doubt the fidelity of judges or juries. Why was it, then, that the Constitution in its most vital parts was openly disregarded, and the security of the citizen trampled under foot?

In Europe they have what are called political offences. These are proceeded against by arrest and imprisonment, without accusation or trial. All is dark and secret. The grave cannot be more so. The dungeons of Spain and Austria are full of victims, many of whom will never again see the light of day. In England such a system has no place. In our country it has ever been denounced, and the first approximation to it should receive, as it deserves, the reprobation of a free people.

But, fellow citizens, unlawful arrests might be borne, and even imprisonments tolerated, if we were but allowed the privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. This writ compels the arresting party to bring up the prisoner, and show the grounds of his arrest. If they are lawful, he is remanded to prison for trial; if they are unlawful, he is discharged. It is the great writ for the protection of personal liberty, guarding it on every side as with a flaming sword; and hence it became necessary that parties arrested in certain cases should be deprived of its benefit. And it has been so done; the privilege of the writ has been suspended, and that too by the President, without the authority of Congress. You all remember that a year ago or more the Chief

Justice of the United States, acting under his high authority, directed a writ of *habeas corpus* to General Cadwalader, of the United States Army, directing him to produce before him John Merryman, then confined in Fort McHenry, near Baltimore, and give the reasons of his detention. The officer refused to produce the body, acting under orders from the President. The Chief Justice issued no attachment against the officer for contempt in not obeying the writ. He could not contend against a military order supported by force of arms. From that time the writ of *habeas corpus* has become practically a nullity.

The Constitution of the United States provides for the suspension of the writ by Congress. Its language is peculiar:—"The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." A case of rebellion or of invasion does not of itself authorize the suspension of the writ; but in addition the public safety must require it. The danger must be plain and pressing, and the suspension should be limited as to the time and place and cause.

The privilege of the writ should be preserved with scrupulous care; and it has been always done so heretofore. It has not been suspended in England for nearly two hundred years; and the attempt to suspend it there would be successfully resisted. In our own country it has never been suspended until now. In the time of Burr's conspiracy, about 1807, a strong effort was made for a suspension, but it failed. In the war of 1812, when our country was invaded by a foreign foe, and when blue lights on the coast invited the enemy to his prey, and treason was perfecting its work in one of our Eastern cities, there was no suspension of the writ. All history shows how sacred the privilege has been regarded.

But what most excites our fears in this matter is, that the power to suspend the privilege of this writ is claimed and exercised by the President, and as we believe without authority and in violation of the Constitution. We do not say intentionally so. He had the opinion of the law officer of the government, and had the right to place himself upon it. That the opinion is

erroneous we entertain no doubt. The framers of the Constitution did not place, nor did they ever intend to place, the high and delicate power of suspension in the hands of the Executive. They coupled it with the legislative powers of the government, where it had always belonged in the country from which we derive many of our laws and institutions, and where it should belong, especially under our system of government. The writ of *habeas corpus* is the people's privilege—peculiarly so. It is their protection against the assumptions of arbitrary power. These originate, most commonly, with the Executive; and it can hardly be supposed that the statesmen of that day would have been willing to place in the hands of the Executive, power over that writ which was to protect them from his usurpations. If the Constitution confides it to the Executive, then it is not in Congress. It cannot be in both at the same time. This is not the occasion for a formal argument. It is enough to say, that from the formation of the government until the last year, there has been but one opinion, to wit: that the power was in Congress. In 1807 when the attempt was made to suspend it, it was made by Congress. Mr. Jefferson was President, and no question was raised as to where the power belonged. Kent and Story, and Marshall, and Taney, all commentators and all judges, have agreed in it.

These unconstitutional arrests and the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus* have alarmed the public mind. In New Jersey it has been sensibly felt. We are a law-abiding people, and are fighting for the Union, the Constitution and the laws. We have given of our blood and treasure to put down the rebellion; and we wish to do this on such principles, that when it is accomplished, we may have a Union and a Constitution left. We are not satisfied to part with these guarantees of our freedom, and trust to their restoration at some future time.

The Convention which met at Trenton in September expressed themselves openly upon these points. They represented the feelings of Democrats and conservatives throughout the State. They were intelligent, loyal and earnest men. They pledged their aid to the suppression of the rebellion; but they protested solemnly against all infringements of the constitu-

tional rights of the people. We ask you to ratify and confirm these sentiments at the polls. Stand by the administration in all lawful and constitutional efforts to suppress the rebellion—stand by the country in her hour of danger; but hold fast to the Constitution as her sheet-anchor. There can be no Union without the Constitution, and what is our country without both!

Fellow citizens: there are many other topics to which your attention should be directed.

Look at the wasteful extravagance, the peculations and frauds which are everywhere brought to view. See even in high places Senators, members of Congress, officers and employees of the Administration selling their influence and fattening upon the government contracts, procured for themselves or for others. Look at the report of the Investigating Committee of Congress, and you will cease to wonder at the rapid increase of our national debt. And then see, too, the spirit of insubordination and disorder and confusion which prevails everywhere in the civil and military service. It is higher lawism exemplified. Officers quarrel with the Administration and each other. They dispute for precedence; they claim and exercise authority which does not belong to them; they issue proclamations and decrees disgraceful to themselves and the country; they are recalled from one trust only to be placed in charge of another. Governors of States go into secret conference as to the mode of carrying on the war and saving the country. Drafts are postponed to suit circumstances, although the army is suffering for want of recruits. All these things, and many others that might be added show a deplorable demoralization, which, if not corrected, must bring disaster in its train. They enfeeble the national strength, increase the public debt, and must necessarily prolong the war.

As to the Administration, we are aware that they have been beset with many difficulties,—that their situation has been novel and trying, and we feel it right that their doings should be judged in a spirit of candor. We ask you so to view them, and to make all the allowances which candor, or even charity, should sanction; and then to answer whether there is not much, very much, that calls for correction and change.

And now what is our duty in the painful circumstances in

which we are placed? We are members of a great and powerful party, which for the larger part of our national existence has guided the destinies of the country. We have stood by it in sunshine and in storm, what is our duty now? We answer:—Stand by the Constitution and the Laws; freely aid the Administration in all lawful and constitutional means to restore the rightful authority of the government. For all injuries we have sustained in the loss of our personal rights, for all violations of the Constitution, let our present remedy be in the ballot box. That is open. It will soon speak. Let it speak in New Jersey now as in days past, in tones that cannot be mistaken. They will be heard and understood; and it will be seen that there is a moral force in public opinion in this country to which all must submit. The freedom of speech and the press will be restored through its influence, forcible arrests and imprisonments will soon cease, and be among the things that were. And the same voice will teach the miserable fanatics of the day who are pressing to make this war, a war for emancipation and for party, and not for the restoration of the Union, that it is not to be perverted to such objects. Radicalism has made fearful progress; but it may still be stayed. Let the Democracy of New Jersey come as one man to the rescue; invite Jerseymen of all parties to join us. There are thousands, we are sure, now in the Republican ranks, who are opposed to this abolition crusade and to all the radical doctrines of the day. We ask them to unite with us in saving the country and restoring the Union on the basis of the Constitution. It is not now, but it soon may be, too late.

But it is alleged by some that we are opposing the government and creating divisions in the loyal States, and thus giving aid and comfort to the enemy. This is a singular charge against Jerseymen. Why, during the whole period of this rebellion, New Jersey has been a loyal State, and she has been a Democratic State. The Democrats and conservatives in the State were earnest in their efforts to prevent a civil war. But when the blow was struck at Sumpter, and war came, the State of New Jersey was among the first to offer her support to the government. Her troops were among the foremost in the field, and she has promptly met every demand. And was this the work of Republicans alone? They will not say it was, and if they should the very stones would cry out against them. And are Democrats creating divisions by insisting that the war shall be prosecuted for its avowed and legitimate purpose. Do our opponents mean to say it should be prosecuted for any other, and if for any other purpose, for what purpose? *Let them answer.*

If it is intended to say that we are creating divisions by calling

in question acts of the Administration which we may truly believe to be unconstitutional or illegal or inexpedient, then we desire to be heard for a moment. There is a strange idea prevailing among some that the Administration and the Government are the same thing. This is incorrect. The government is permanent. It is established by the Constitution as to its form and powers. In fact, the government and the Constitution are often taken in the same sense. Those who administer the government constitute what is known as the administration. They are officers of the government, but not the government itself. They are changed from time to time, but the government or the Constitution remains the same. Our oath of allegiance is "to support the Constitution of the United States" and "to bear true faith and allegiance to the government established in this State under the authority of the people," not to support the administration. It is a mistake to suppose that to call in question the acts of our public servants is an opposition to the government. On the contrary, it is an important security to the government, in exposing those who are unfaithful to its principles. Free discussion and free election must stand or fall together. The one enlightens, the other declares the public mind. Both are essential to liberty.

Let us all, then, examine and canvass the situation of our country, undisturbed by the miserable cry of treason and disloyalty and secessionism, sought to be raised against us by some of the demagogues of the day. Let us faithfully do our duty at the polls, and strive to ward off the storm that threatens to involve us in one common ruin. While we fight secessionism in the field, we must fight abolitionism and radicals at the ballot box. We invite conservative men everywhere to aid us in so controlling public sentiment, as that our constitutional rights shall be preserved, and that our honest efforts for the suppression of the rebellion shall not be used for the purposes of sustaining a mere abolition war, to be attended or followed by servile insurrections, at the contemplation of which humanity shudders. Pennsylvania, Ohio and Indiana have spoken, and we are cheered by the sound. Let New Jersey follow their example.

A Governor and five members of Congress are to be chosen at the ensuing election. General JOEL PARKER has been nominated for Governor; he is a tried man, of integrity and high character, and eminently fitted for the office. He is a conservative man, who has cordially accepted the platform of the Convention, and will fearlessly maintain the integrity of the State and the rights of all her citizens. We heartily commend him to the suffrages of all. Our nominees for Congress are men



known to the public. They are honest, faithful and capable, and if elected will sustain the principles of their constituents and the best interests of their country. On the Legislature to be chosen at the same time will devolve the duty not only of taking care of State concerns, but of choosing a United States Senator for six years.

The election, therefore, is one of more than ordinary importance. Let us weigh well the responsibility that rests upon us all. And let us go with strong, united purpose FOR OUR COUNTRY, for the UNION AS IT WAS and the CONSTITUTION AS IT IS.

PETER D. VROOM,
BENJAMIN WILLIAMSON, } *Members at Large.*

BENJAMIN F. LEE, *First District.*

JOSEPH D. BEDLE, *Second District.*

PHINEAS B. KENNEDY, *Third District.*

JOHN Y. DATER, *Fourth District.*

THOMAS B. PIERSON, *Fifth District.*

TRENTON, October, 1862.

Resolutions Adopted at the Democratic State Convention, September 4, 1862.

WHEREAS, the Democracy of New Jersey have again assembled in Convention to exercise the right of freemen to nominate a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people; and whereas, we hold that popular Conventions alone may rightly proclaim the tenets of the party—therefore,

1. Resolved, That deploring the demoralizing tendency of the Higher Law teachings of the Republican party, we feel impelled to reiterate our faith in the doctrine that Constitutional Law is the only true basis of Executive action, in peace or war.

2. Resolved, That in the present exigencies of the country we extend to the National Administration our most cordial support for the speedy suppression of the rebellion by all Constitutional means, and that the party stands as it has ever stood since the formation of the Government, for the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the Laws.

3. Resolved, That as in establishing the Constitution the people reserved to themselves all powers not delegated to the Government, therefore all assumptions of power by the Administration, whether in the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, arrest and imprisonment without due course of law, or restrictions of the freedom of speech and of the press, are dangerous infringements of the Constitutional rights of the people, only to be patiently borne by the hopeless serfs of an irresistible despotism.

4. Resolved, That while we enter our solemn protest against the reckless extravagance, infamous speculation, and political outrages of which the party in power is guilty, and while we deprecate the horrors of the civil conflict now raging, we still hold it our duty to advocate the use of every Constitutional means, to the extent of the full power of the Government, for the suppression of the rebellion, the vindication of the authority of the "Constitution as it is and the restoration of the Union as it was."

5. Resolved, That we do entirely reject and abhor the idea that, as an object of the present civil war, any purpose of emancipation of the slaves shall be thereby promoted or at all regarded; and that the language recently used by the "Washington Republican," that the FANCE of restoring the Union of the States is about played out, is utterly infamous, and deserving, as it will receive, the most solemn and severe condemnation of all true patriots.

6. Resolved, That we applaud our brave volunteers, who by their gallant deeds have emulated the heroism of the old "Jersey Blues," and that we extend our heartfelt sympathy to those who are bereaved by the calamities of the war.

7. Resolved, That to the candidate this day nominated we pledge our united support, believing that the political triumph of the Constitutional Democracy in the coming election will have a powerful effect in terminating the rebellion and restoring peace, prosperity and happiness throughout the land.

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